

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 OMB-01 LS-01

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: LUNS REMARKS AT APRIL 4 NATO TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
CEREMONIES

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REMARKS MADE, HALF IN FRENCH AND HALF IN
ENGLISH, BY NATO SYG LUNS ON THE OCCASION OF APRIL 4 MILITARY
CEREMONIES AT NATO HEADQUARTERS MARKING THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SIGNING OF THE NATO TREATY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE, EXCELLENCES, MESDAMES, MESSIERUS,

NOUS SOMMES REUNIS CE MATIN POUR COMMENORER LE
25EME ANNIVERSAIRE DE L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE. AU COURS DE CETTE
ANNEE D'AUTRES OCCASIONS SE PRESENTERONT SANS DOUTE D'EVOGUER
AVEC PLUS DE FASTE LES 25 ANS D'EXISTENCE DE L'OTAN. MAIS LE
4 AVRIL, DATE DE LA SIGNATURE DU TRAITE A WASHINGTON, EXIGE QU'UN
JUSTE HOMMAGE LUI SOIT RENDU.

IL EST INEVITABLE, EN DE TELLES CIRCONSTANCES, DE JETER
UN REGARD VERS LE PASSE. EN SE RAPPELANT LES DERNIERES VINGT-
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CINQ ANNEES NOUS NE POUVONS QU'ETRE FIER. FIER DE NOTRE
ALLIANCE QUI A MAINTENU LA PAIX EN EUROPE, QUI N'A JAMAIS ATTAQUE
QUICONQUE, QUI N'A PERSECUTE NI INJURIE PERSONNE ET QUI, DANS LE
REGLEMENT DE SES PROPRES PROBLMES, A TOUJOURS AGI EN ACCORD AVEC

SES MEMBRES. ET CELA TOUT EN PRESERVANT L'INDEPNDANCE SOUVERAINE DE NOS PYAS QUI, GRACE A LA SECURITE OFFERTE PAR L'ALLIANCE ONT EU LA POSSIBILITE D'ACCEDER A UN BIEN-ETRE SANS PRECEDENT. SEULS, CEUX QUI ONT CONNU LA 2EME GUERRE MONDIALE, ET AU-DELA, SONT CAPABLES DE SE RAPPELER ET DE COMPRENDRE LES CRAINTES QU'INSPIRERENT LA POLITIQUE DES SOVIETS ET LEURS ACTIONS A LA FIN DES ANNEES 40. CE SONT CES CRAINTES QUI POSSERENT DOUZE GOVERNEMENTS D'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE ET D'AMERIQUE DU NORD - BIENTOT REJOINT PAR TROIS AUTRES - A CONSTITUER AVEC UN IMMENSE SOUTIEN POPULAIRE CETTE ALLIANCE POUR LEUR DEFENSE COLLECTIVE.

AUJOURD'HUI NOUS AVONS TOUTES RAISONS DE PROCLAMER LE SUCCES SANS PRECEDENT DE CETTE ALLIANCE. TOUT D'ABORD PARCE QU'ELLE A PROUVE ETRE L'ASSOCIATION INEBRANLABLE DE 15 NATIONS, PAR COMPARASISON AUX 2 OUR 3 PAY REUNIS EN UNE ALLIANCE DEFENSIVE CONTRE LEURS PRIVAUX AUX TEMPS ANCIENS DE L'HISTOIRE EUROPEENNE. ENSUTIE, ET CELA EST EXTREMEMENT IMPORTANT, PARCE QUE LES ETATS-UNIS ET LE CANADA SE SONT JOINTS, EN TEMPS DE PAIX, A L'EUROPE DANS UNE ALLIANCE DEFENSIVE. ENFIN, PARCE QU'IL SERAIT DIFFICILE DE TROUVER UNE ALLIANCE AYANT, POUR SI LONGTEMPS, ASSURE LA PAIX EN EUROPE.

BEIEN QUE JE NE VEUILLE PAS ALLER JUSQU'À PRETENDRE QUE LA SECURITE NE PUISSE ETRE GARANTIE QUE PAR LES COLITIONS, JE SUIS PERSUADE QU'IL EST EVIDENT QUE SEULE LA FORCE PUISSE NEUTRALISER LA FORCE, ET QUE DANS CERTAINES CIRCONSTANCES LA SECURITE D'UN ETAT NE PEUT ETRE GARANTIE QUE PAR DES ALLIANCES STABLES ET LA CREDIBILITE DE LEURS FORCES ARMEES. DANS L'EUROPE DE 1949 L'ORGANISATION D'UNE FORCE COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATIT LA SEULE SOLUTION CONTRE UNE MENACE RESSENTIE PAR CHACUN. DE FAIT, NOS PAYS N'ONT JAMAIS EU D'AUTRE CHOIX QUE L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE POUR SURVIVRE EN TANT QU'ETATS LIBRES ET INDEPENDANTS.

SI NOUS EXAMINONS NOTRE ALLIANCE NOUS CONSTATIONS QUE SON BUT ESSENTIEL - L'ARRET DE L'EXPANSION SOVIETIQUE EN EUROPE - A ETE ATTEINT AVEC SUCCES PENDANT CE QUART DE SIECLE. LE STATU QUO TERRITORIAL EST DEMEURE INVOLABLE. GRACE A LA UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESENTE CAPACITE DE DISSUASION DE L'ALLIANCE, NOS PEUPLES NE CRAIGNENT DESORMAIS PLUS UNE AGRESSION MILITAIRE D'ENVERGURE.

IL N'Y A CEPENDANT AUCUNE RAISON NOUS PERMETTANT DE TEMPORISER. TANDIS QUE L'UNION SOVIETIQUE SUIVIE PAR SES ALLIES DU PACTE DE VARSOVIE POURSUIT L'EXPANSION DE SES FORCES, ON CONSTATE UNE RETICENCE QUASI UNANIME DANS LES PAYS DE L'ALLIANCE A CONSACRER A LA DEFENSE LES RESSOURCES NECESSAIRES. L'AUGMENTATION DES DISPARITES DAN LE DOMAINE DE LA DEFENSE EST INQUIETANTE. BIEN QUE JE DEMEURE PERSUADE QUE L'ALLIANCE NOUS ASSURE ENCORE UNE SECURITE EFFICACE, JE SUIS CONVAINCU QUE L MARGE DONT NOUS DISPOSONS EST DEVENUE TRES REDUITE.

D'AUTRE PART, C'EST PRECISEMENT SUR LA BASE DE LA SECURITE DONT NOUS AVONS JOINT PENDANT UN QUART DE SIECLE QUE NOUS AVONS PU PRENDRE L'INITIATIVE D'UNE AMELIORATION DES RELATIONS EST/OUEST.

UNE POLITIQUE DE CONFRONTATION INFLEXIBLE A FAIT PLACE A UNE POLITIQUE DE MOBILITE ET DE NEGOCIATIONS. CEPENDANT LES DIFFERENTES NEGOCIATIONS EN COURS, TANT BILATERALES QUE MULTILATERALES NE REPRESENTENT QU'UN COMMENCEMENT. IL FAUDRA SANS DOUTE ENCORE LONGTEMPS AVANT QUE LA RECOLTE NE PUISSE SE FAIRE ET A LA CONDITION QUE NOS INTERLOCUTERS - ESSENTIELLEMENT L'UNION SOVIETIQUE - ACCEPTE DE POURSUIVRE LES NEGOCIATIONS JUSQU'A LEUR HEUREUSE CONCLUSION.

L'OTAN, INDUBITABLEMENT, REMPLIT AVEC SUCCES CE DOUBLE BUT DE DEFENSE ET DE DETENTE. MAIS L'ALLIANCE A AUSSI CREE LE CLIMAT DE SECURITE SANS LEQUEL LA RENAISSANCE ECONOMIQUE DE L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE EUT ETE IMPOSSIBLE. LA VALEUR ACTUELLE DE NOTRE COHESION SOCIALE ET L'ACCROISSEMENT REMARQUABLE DU NIVEAU DE VIE DANS TOUTE L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE NE POURRAIENT EXISTER DANS UN CLIMAT D'INSECURITE.

LA PLUPART DES GENS NE REALISENT CERTAINEMENT PAS LE RAPPORT EXISTANT ENTRE LA DEFENSE COLLECTIVE ET LA PROSPERITE MATERIELLE. TROP RARES SONT CEUX EN EUROPE QUI SEMBLENT SE RENDRE COMPTE QUE L'EXISTENCE MEME DE LA COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE EUROPEENNE SERAIT MISE EN QUESTION SI LA SECURITE APPORTEE PAR LE SYSTEME DEFENSIF DE L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE FAISAIT DEFAUT.

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NOW, TURNING TOWARDS THE FUTURE, LET ME EXPRESS MY
CONVICTION THAT IT CAN BE WORTHY OF OUR PAST ACHIEVEMENTS IF
-AND IT IS A BIG IF - WE MARSHAL SUFFICIENT POLITICAL
INTELLIGENCE TO IDENTIFY THE PROBLEMS FACING US AND MUSTER THE
NECESSARY WILL TO APPLY THE CORRECT REMEDIES.

THE FIRST OF THESE PROBLEMS IS THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN SOCIAL PROGRESS AND DEFENCE.

AS ALLIED COUNTRIES SEEK TO OVERCOME BALANCE OF PAYMENT
DIFFICULTIES BROUGHT ABOUT BY RISING PRICES, PRESSURES TO REDUCE
DEFENCE BUDGETS WILL INEVITABLY INCREASE. IN THIS SITUATION, IT
IS ESSENTIAL THAT OUR PUBLIC OPINIONS BE ADEQUATELY INFORMED
ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE THREAT FACING US. SOCIAL PROGRESS, TO
WHICH WE ALL ASPIRE, IS ONLY POSSIBLE UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF
SECURITY AFFORDED BY THE ALLIANCE. HOWEVER, WE OFTEN OBSERVE
THAT SOCIAL PROGRESS LEADS TO AN UNWILLINGNESS OR AN ALLEGED
IMPOSSIBILITY TO PAY FOR DEFENCE. ACCORDINGLY, IF THIS TENDENCY
SHOULD GO UNCHECKED, LET THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE
CONSEQUENCES: THE UMBRELLA OF SECURITY WILL BE LOST AND THE
SOCIAL PROGRESS SO GAINED WILL BE ULTIMATELY LOST ALSO AND
WOULD, THUS, BE PURELY ILLUSORY AND TRANSITORY.

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THESE FACTS MUST BE EXPLAINED AND LET ME SAY IN ALL
FRANKNESS THAT THE EFFORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, IF UNAIDED,
CANNOT SUFFICE.

MUCH WILL THEREFORE DEPEND ON THE RESOLVE OF
GOVERNMENTS, BACKED BY PUBLIC OPINION, TO ALLOCATE ENOUGH
RESOURCES FOR DEFENCE; ON THE READINESS OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES
TO SHOULDER THEIR FAIR PART; ON THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES
AND CANADA TO RESIST PRESSURES TO WITHDRAW US AND CANADIAN FORCES
FROM EUROPE; AND, ULTIMATELY, ON THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRATEGY OF
FLEXIBLE RESPONSE COMBINING CREDIBLE CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE AND THE
NUCLEAR DETERRENT.

NEXT, WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND MORE FULLY THE VALUE OF
ALLIANCE CONSULTATION. THE CURRENT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS HOLD
OUT THE HOPE OF AGREEMENTS WHICH WILL PAVE THE WAY TO REDUCED
CONFRONTATION, ALTHOUGH WE MUST BE PATIENT. MEANWHILE, ALL
SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE ALLIANCE IS AN EXCELLENT, AND IN FACT,
THE ONLY INSTRUMENT WE HAVE FOR MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG
THE ALLIES DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH AFFECT THE POLITICAL
AND SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL MEMBER STATES.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PROBLEM OF OUR INTERNAL RELATIONS,
AND ESPECIALLY THOSE CONCERNING TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS, ASSUMES
A MORE IMPORTANT DIMENSION. OBVIOUSLY, THIS CALLS FOR A SPECIAL
EFFORT ON THE PART OF ALL OF US. AMERICANS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE
EFFECT OF THE INEVITABLE GROWING PAINS THE GERMANS ARE FEELING

PARTICULARLY ACUTELY AT THE MOMENT. THE EUROPEANS MUST REMAIN DETERMINED NOT TO ALLOW ECONOMIC AND TRADE DIFFERENCES TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, NOR MUST THEY, ALMOST WILFULLY, GIVE UP THEIR SECURITY BY SEEKING A EUROPE OF THEIR OWN AT THE EXPENSE OF TRANSATLANTIC SOLIDARITY.

ALL THIS RAISES A MORE PROFOUND ISSUE, WHICH DEMANDS MORE CAREFUL THOUGHT THAN IT HAS RECEIVED HITHERTO. I WILL PUT THE QUESTION WITHOUT VENTURING TO ANSWER IT. WHAT IS TO BE THE ROLE OF THIS NEW EUROPE, THE UNIFIED EUROPE IN THE WORLD? IS IT TO BECOME A REINFORCED PILLAR OF THE ALLIANCE, OR IS THIS EUROPE TO EXIST AS SOME SORT OF THIRD FORCE, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, OR WILL IT SERVE YET OTHER POSSIBILITIES WHICH ARE THEORETICALLY CONCEIVABLE? MY OWN ANSWER OF COURSE IS UNCLASSIFIED

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CLEAR, BUT THESE POSSIBILITIES NEED CAREFUL THOUGHT, NOT IN THE FUTURE, BUT RIGHT NOW, SINCE THE ANSWERS GIVEN WILL NOT ONLY AFFECT FUTURE POLICIES, BUT ALSO PRESENT REALITIES.

THE RECORD OF OUR ALLIANCE PROVES BEYOND A SHADOW OF DOUBT THE WISDOM OF THE STATESMEN WHO CREATED IT. AS WE LOOK FORWARD, WE SEE THE ALLIANCE AS A STURDY BULWARK FOR OUR PROTECTION, A WELL-TRIED INSTRUMENT FOR THE PROMOTION OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND AS A PARTNERSHIP LINKING EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN A COMMUNITY IN WHICH UNITY ALLOWS FOR DIVERSITY. ALL OF US IN THE WEST, WHETHER STATESMEN OR MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC, WILL NEED EQUAL WISDOM IF WE ARE TO GIVE SUCH A VALUABLE HERITAGE TO OUR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

END TEXT.
RUMSFELD

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